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lived, the same kind of life as commoners, observing the same taboos, working at the same tasks, eating the same food, and living in the same kind of huts. To this last statement there is one exception. The hut in which lives the chief wife of the head of the *tsunaun* lineage, who is usually herself *tsunaun*, has an extension in front of it, roofed, and walled at the sides but open in front, and provided with the usual platform. This is called the 'eye' of the house. Here is kept the slit-gong belonging to the *tsunaun*, which is beaten on ceremonial occasions as well as for dances. Here the older men of the village will sometimes congregate to talk, while the boys and younger men use the front of the men's house for that purpose. Except on certain ceremonial occasions, women are not allowed there, as it is only an extension of the *tagoan*, or men's verandah, of the ordinary houses. This extension makes the house the longest in the village. Its interior is no different from that of other houses. The houses occupied by other members of the *tsunaun* lineage do not differ at all, either inside or out, from those of commoners. There is no distinctive dress or attached ornament peculiar to *tsunaun*, but some of the cicatrized patterns may not be cut upon commoners.

So far as I can ascertain, the prestige of a *tsunaun* was never directly a matter of the possession of property. He is not expected to give large feasts at his own expense. If the group is concerned in an important ceremony, for which much food must be provided, he will contribute as much as possible, but the others must bring their own contributions as well. He does, as a rule, own more strings of ceremonial currency than most people can boast of, either handed down on the death of former *tsunaun* or received as payment for favours shown. But he needs more than a commoner to provide for the marriage payments of the young men of his lineage, who, being themselves *tsunaun*, should marry women equal to them in position.

A *tsunaun* usually has several wives, but that is not in itself a sign of rank, since commoners may also have as many as they wish and can provide for. He will, however, usually be betrothed to at least two while still a mere boy, whereas the commoner is probably betrothed in youth to one only, pleasing himself as to any subsequent marriages. It is usual for the first wife of a man who is *tsunaun* to be herself *tsunaun*, belonging to another village, and usually to another clan. His other wives may, if he so desires, be

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in front of the men's house. One was put much farther away than the others: this was intended as a present to the next village, Pokar, and would be reciprocated on the next occasion at which pigs were killed in that village. 342 574

Three of the pigs were then killed and partially cooked, in the usual way (see p. 283). The joints were piled up on the back verandah of Gonu's own house, not the new men's house. In the afternoon some men from Pokar came and fetched the pig reserved for them away—alive—in a canoe.

A crowd of guests from other Buka villages then arrived, including a number of women with their babies. All were decorated with red paint on their hair and some with dabs on their faces. [302] As soon as it was quite dark there was a *kōma* with slit-gong, *mabu*, and Pan-pipes, with much more excitement than there had been the day before, and more people dancing, including the visitors, both men and women. 342 535 574 Most of the women wore bands of plaited fibre round their waists, from which were suspended tails of grass or pith, which they manipulated with their hands while dancing. The men had red paint and white cockatoo feathers in their hair, [302] and bits of phosphorescent fungus on their cheeks and on the ends of the *mabu*. There were three of these instruments. I was told they had been borrowed from the neighbouring island of Matsungan, as the village of Tung did not possess any. [426]

The *kōma* went on till after daybreak, in spite of a heavy downpour of rain which made their finery look very bedraggled, but did not seem to abate their eagerness to dance. When it was over, the players of the Pan-pipes threw them on the ground and stamped on them, breaking them all to pieces.

Baskets of taro had been distributed in the intervals of the dance, but the pigs were not eaten till the following day. 342 574 The joints had been distributed among the various houses to be cooked; these were all brought out and laid on the platform which ran the whole length of the men's house, together with a large quantity of taro, all in baskets made of plaited coco-nut leaves. The display was of great importance, and my attention was called to the quantity produced, which I was clearly expected to admire. [556] All the members of Gonu's clan, Manu, sat inside the house, on the floor and on the platform, where I was also given a seat. Separate baskets of pig-meat and taro were put in front of each little group, who ate the contents at their leisure. Baskets were sent to members of the

SOME ECONOMIC MATTERS

because the Tabut people were sorry for the *ruanbē* (husband's parents) of Moras, the sister of the dead boys, and were not reward for the ritual weeping. Parties of women sometimes go to watch by a sick person; they will be given areca-nut and coco-nuts, some of which they will eat as they sit there; what remains will be carried home when they leave.

When guests are invited from distant villages to attend a ceremony it is customary to provide spreads of food, placed on platforms at intervals in the bush along the route, with which they can refresh themselves during the journey (*taran in a ken* means to prepare a spread of this kind). When we walked to the hill country to attend the *wapi* ceremony we came to three such places of refreshment. They took the form of a platform made of boughs, on which was placed a number of baskets made of coco-nut palm leaves plaited containing pieces of roast pig and boiled taros; others filled with the eggs of the megapode, almost ready to hatch, cooked and done up in leaves. There were also large packets of ceremonial pudding. Huge bunches of areca-nuts, yellow and green, hung from the posts of the platform, together with bundles of betel-pepper. Guests were supposed to provide their own lime. All along the edge of the platform were hung rows of coco-nuts. The effect was most lavish. We were also plentifully supplied with similar food at the ceremony itself, consuming it in the intervals of waiting. Such displays are not entirely prompted by generosity, or even the desire to make a show, since it is the custom, when guests think that the food provided for them is inadequate, to take revenge by wrecking their hosts' plantations, breaking down their coco-nut and areca palms, and spearing their pigs. It is said that in the olden days the angry guests even went so far as to burn the village and kill many of the inhabitants, including women and children. But, on the other hand, ostentatious display of wealth by single individuals is avoided for fear of 'poison'. They say that if a man prepares a very lavish feast, all the men who know how to make poison say: 'This fellow has made a big feast, we must kill him.' 'They are angry with the man who has done so well at getting food and so they make him die with their bad medicine.'

GIFTS

People are entitled to ask for areca-nuts, coco-nuts, &c., from those who stand to them in the relation of *kiar* (sibling of the same

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water; cooking pots, bought from Malasang; and such baskets as they choose to make. Each woman also owns a hood for observing the rules of avoidance. Both sexes cherish their woven armlets, necklaces, and other ornaments, their pipes, and their decorated lime-pots, though these are now giving place to tins obtained from the white man. Most people now possess trade knives for cutting bush, weeding, &c., and some few also axes and adzes. This makes no claim to be an exhaustive list of personal possessions, but it does, I think, include the bulk of them. Although these people take pleasure in ownership, and are as delighted as children at the acquisition of, say, a specially large or good knife (I have seen a man doing a dance of joy at one which I had given him) or a string of beads, they do not seem to strive particularly to amass quantities of possessions, beyond what they need for their own use. 'Riches' consist of ceremonial currency and pigs, everything else is incidental. Ornamented spears used to rank in this category, and still do in the central mountain districts, there forming part of the transactions connected with marriage, as do also stone axes, which are no longer valued in the coastal districts.

Records of possessions.

To keep a record of the number of coco-nut trees owned by the inhabitants of the village, bundles of the stiff centre rib of the coco-nut leaf frond are kept, containing one rib for each tree. A tally of pigs is kept by making notches on a stick. All the pigs belonging to the village are recorded—or are supposed to be recorded—on one stick, but this does not mean that they are communally owned. These records are required by the Government and the bundles and sticks are given to the District Officer at his official visit. I do not think any record would be kept except for this requirement, and its accuracy is open to considerable doubt.

ATTITUDE TO THEFT

To steal ceremonial currency made of teeth (*imun*) is a major offence, one of the two such offences recognized by these people, the other being to take another man's wife, for which the same word (*a mot*) is used. The customary punishment is that the convicted person shall be taken to the beach and all who wish shall have the right to shoot at him with spears and arrows. He is,

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159 The dreams of children and adolescents frequently seem to be of this type:

No. 84. Talewu (girl, aged 5 or 6).

I dreamed about a lot of shells, they were in the house, and we threw them away into the sea.

Comment by recorder. She had been gathering shell-fish on the reef for a long time on the previous day.

No. 85. Waror (girl, aged about 7).

I dreamed about my mother; she came back to our village; she brought a big hood and a little hood, and we went to wash and to get water, and we fetched some water and went back and went home.

Comment by recorder. Waror's mother has been staying at another village. When she returns from such a visit she always brings a present for her children. The hood is worn by women and girls to prevent them from seeing or being seen by their *waris* (daughter's husband, in the classificatory system, see p. 73).

The following, dreamed by a boy wearing the *upi*, is perhaps significant:

No. 46. Maniu (boy aged about 10 or 11).

I dreamed that Karikoa (a boy about the same age) cut a piece off the end of an old canoe, and I said: 'Oh, Karikoa, why are you spoiling Sinke's canoe?' Then Tchub (a young man) said: 'It is a good canoe, why did you cut it short?' Karikoa said: 'I only cut it, that 's all.' Then Tchub mended it.

Another, dreamed by a young man who had had more contact with white people than most of the people of this village, having worked both on plantations and in the gold mines of New Guinea, deals with money and also with knives, one of its trade equivalents.

No. 15. Matarē (adult male).

I dreamed I had a lot of money, and I bought knives, and I bought a box and filled it up with knives and nothing else. Then all the people came and asked me: 'Where is your box? let us see it.' Then I opened the box and they all said: 'Oh, what a lot of knives!' Then I gave them all knives. This is a good dream; I was glad, I thought I really had a lot of money.

159 *Comment by the recorder.* 'Money' means shillings, which are used for
● 556 the payment of plantation labourers. It is the custom for them to spend much of it on knick-knacks from the plantation store, which are appropriated by their friends as soon as they return to their own village. They do not appear to object to being thus mulcted of the results of their three

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years' hard work, but enjoy the enhanced reputation which such generosity (although almost involuntary) accords to them.

(*c*) *Dreams having a definite sexual element.*

The dreams included under this head are confined to those in which the sexual element is clearly expressed in the manifest content. I have made no attempt to deal with the sexual life as illustrated by the 'latent content' of the dreams in this collection, not being qualified to do so.

As regards 'manifest content', then, this collection provides eighteen dreams which can be regarded as sexual. It will be noted that the number is less than half that of the dreams concerned with death and the *urar*, a proportion which seems to be significant even in so small a collection.

The sexual act, either performed or solicited, figures in six of these dreams, three being dreams of men and three of women. In each case the individual of the opposite sex figures as the aggressor, the request being either refused or acceded to after much persuasion. This pretence seems to be a form of self-justification to which the natives have recourse also in their waking life, for I was struck by the fact that in every dispute over, or discussion upon, sexual relations which came under my notice, the other party was represented as urging and the speaker as holding back, an allegation which was always denied by the accused. Only one of these dreams deals with a married couple, in the others the relations are illicit. One of them is an 'incest' dream (No. 5, p. 563).

Of the other dreams in this class, mention may be made of one which occurred to the husband of the woman who was the cause of the trouble discussed on p. 119 by being accused of carrying on intrigues with three lovers at once. The dream took place at a time when her behaviour was the subject of general comment in the village. Its implications are obvious:

No. 33. Tchiriv (young adult male).

I dreamed a man whom I did not know hid Tarubi in the bush and covered her up with leaves. I went to look for her. Tahol and Takon asked me: 'Where is your wife?' I said: 'I don't know.' Then I found a snake, and that woke me up. This is a bad dream.

Comments by the recorder. It is usual for illicit relationships to be carried on in the bush. Tarubi is the dreamer's wife, Tahol and Takon are the two wives of a man in whose hut Tchiriv and Tarubi were living at the time.

of white colonists do not exist in Bougainville even today, but since 177
the island affords great stretches of the finest soil, and in addition favorable sites for anchoring and landing, the time is certainly not far off when tropical agriculture in modern form will enter there, too, and then even the last vestiges of traditional culture will come to a rapid end as has been the case everywhere else in the South Sea Islands.

Stanley entitled his travel book about Africa Through the Dark Continent, but a depiction of Bougainville that is exhaustive in every respect could justifiably bear the title: "From the Darkest Part of a Dark Island World."

[4] Character of the People

Older reports as a rule give an incorrect portrayal of the character 181
of the islanders; there was a general tendency to consider them among the wildest of the South Sea inhabitants. It must be conceded that on first acquaintance they do not inspire much confidence; the naked almost black figures with their sparkling eyes, lively gesticulation, and the excellent arms they always have at hand on land as well as at sea, necessarily arouse distrust -- all the more so since their former numerous warlike encounters with the whites and their reputation of being vicious cannibals seem to confirm the preconceived notion.

I will say no more about conflicts with the whites. In most cases 721
the natives were acting defensively, and wherever a real attack upon white men can be proved, the reason must frequently enough be regarded as an act of vengeance for some preceding injustice. Indeed it cannot be denied that there are among the islanders also bad individuals who, for the sake of profit and in order to acquire the valuable goods of the whites more easily, do not hesitate to apply force; but cases of this sort occur everywhere in the world.

As workers and servants the islanders are loyal and reliable; they 181
are not particularly intelligent and at the beginning of their service [153]
require much training before they comprehend what they have to do, but once they have comprehended this, then one can rely on them to do their duty without constant supervision. At home they do not 181
work excessively hard, for they have no nose for profit or accumulating 461
material possessions; however, they always have sufficient food and [556]
keep their plantations in good order; they see to it that they have good dwellings and take great pains in the construction of their boats,